361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, [492] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interacting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

300 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short [412] handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. [462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation [491] on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (magwa in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

[407] [414] [326] [231] [435]

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462]

The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 804

The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 804 413

Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. [467] Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] [482] [415] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at [824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[521] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 [917] There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes. [462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the village still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

252 [412]

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured.

824

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope.

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests.

[283] [285] [482] [412]

[731] [231] [462]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work.

243

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here.

[262]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[031] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagano that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [962] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bentō, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food. [262] [231]

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

824 [262] [432] [462] [494] Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use, with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater, the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

241 262 (2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki) (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese, Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

[263] [252] (3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L) is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment, or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh [231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is [184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have [221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce, [252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the [251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jugoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. 231 [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about ¥2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is ¥200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared.

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year.

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport.

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo.

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera-

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
[427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past
[467] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif-
[373] ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
[171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner.
[404] A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialised items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

5

The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school.

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later.

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length.

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land.

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Division of Labor

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In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs.

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the farmer has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

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This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture.

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In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling.

[887]

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old women may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine.

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Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce.

824

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (Ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles.

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The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

[462]

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In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom.

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Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

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In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters.

construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Matsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

stored and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244 [251]
Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still [514] used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised [462] by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244 Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready 243 for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All [249] this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249 March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, [474] who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The [402] operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the 433 end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar prod- 249 ucts; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. 245 Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all house- 231 holds in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is [434] about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
251 farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
[434] leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

462 [241] heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make [843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for [482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's responsibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more distinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men [342] do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the [653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 462 [464] Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60. When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even [241] grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a [855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] amilies it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." [152] A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 565 462 [178] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe [286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly.

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge.

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping.

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 586 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [17] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma- 464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ- [511] ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.